according to the conſtitution of Solon, nothing was to be propoſed that had not previouſly obtained the approbation of the ſenate. The candidates for a place in this aſſembly were ſtrictly examined into by the guardians of their reſpective tribes, and, previous to the ballot, were to be approved of by the archons. The mode of election by ballot preſerved the idea of equality ſo natural to a republic, prevented factious intrigue for office, and gave diſcontent the colour of irreligion.

FROM the ſame views of balancing the wildneſs and turbulence of democratic rule, Solon reſtored and reformed the court of Areopagus, whoſe authority had been nearly aboliſhed by the inſtitutions of Draco. The power of this court was merely judicative; it was compoſed of the archons, who had diſcharged the duties of their office with diſtinguiſhed integrity and reputation. This aſſembly met at night, and in the open air; thoſe who pleaded before them were not permitted to indulge themſelves in rhetorical declamation, but were ſtrictly confined to matters of fact and the merits of the cauſe. This auguſt tribunal was highly reſpected all over Greece for its wiſdom and integrity. The members of Areopagus were the guardians of religion and the laws, ſuperintended

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intended the education of youth, exerciſed a cenſorial power over the lives and manners of the citizens, and in dangerous emergencies were entitled to aſſume a ſort of dictatorial power *.

SUCH was the outline of the conſtitution eſtabliſhed by Solon, which was held in veneration by all antiquity. A particular detail of his laws tranſcends the boundaries of this work; it is ſufficient for our purpoſe to mark the principles on which they are founded.

LEGISLATION, as formerly mentioned, was a ſtudy and a ſcience in the early period of Greece. At a meeting of the ſeven wiſe men it was debated, which was the beſt form of government? "That," ſaid Solon, "is the beſt, in which all are taught to feel the injuries done to *each*." Accordingly, to unite all the citizens in a common intereſt, and inſpire a fellow-feeling through the whole ſtate, ſeems to have been the chief object in view throughout the legiſlation of Solon. The ultimate authority reſided in the people, becauſe the intereſts of the whole were concerned in the deciſion. Va-

* Iſocrat. Orat. Areopagit.—Athenienſium rempublicam non magis poſſe ſine Areopagi conſilio, quàm mundum ſine providentiâ Dei, adminiſtrari. Cicer. de Natur. Deorum.

rious

rious laws were framed, more particularly to inculcate, that every man belonged to the ſtate. The debtor's effects might be ſeized, but his perſon was ſacred, for his goods were private property, but himſelf belonged to the republic. Idleneſs was puniſhed as a crime, becauſe the public ſuffers by the poverty, and gains by the induſtry of its members. The ſingular law which has excited ſo much ſurpriſe was founded on this principle, "that during an inſurrection or ſedition, the citizen who did not eſpouſe a ſide was to be held infamous." The ardour of the Athenians, and the intereſt they took in all public affairs, were ſufficiently powerful to diſpoſe them to the obſervance of this law.

ALL political inſtitutions have their advantages and defects, and as authors dwell on the one or the other, diſcourſes on government are apt to turn into panegyric or ſatire. Anacharſis, the Scythian, pointed out the defect in the Athenian conſtitution, when he obſerved, "that Solon appointed wiſe men to deliberate on cauſes, and fools to decide them." The power of the people became enormous and exceſſive. Such a multitude as an Athenian aſſembly, which ſeldom conſiſted of leſs than ſix thouſand perſons, was certainly unqualified to

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deliberate with wiſdom, or to decide with juſtice. The ſenate, and the court of Areopagus, intended as checks to the popular aſſemblies, did not remedy the evil. The Areopagus had no part in the government, and the ſenate, depending upon the people, could not repair a conſtitution which had eſſential defects. The ſenate was beſides too numerous. The experience of ages has demonſtrated, that all great aſſemblies are mobs, and that in proportion to the multitude of counſellors there is the leſs wiſdom. Accordingly the Athenian ſtate was tormented with faction and torn with diſſenſions. In the latter periods of the republic, the city was in inceſſant combuſtion, the aſſemblies tumultuous, and the people abandoned to the impetuoſity of every bold haranguer.

HUMANITY, generoſity, and greatneſs of ſoul, formed the character of the Athenians. Examples appear in every page of their hiſtory. But the people will always retain their character; fickle, capricious, unjuſt, and hurried away by the firſt impreſſions. A popular government is generally tyrannical. The Athenian deſpot, in many reſpects, reſembles the Perſian. The humours of a people, flattered and ſeduced by their orators, as Plato has obobſerved,

obſerved, are equally dangerous and terrible, as the caprices of a prince, corrupted by the homage and adulation of his courtiers.

In all the Grecian republics every freeman was bound to military ſervice: the abundance of ſlaves rendered this both practicable and neceſſary. The labour of the ſlaves ſupported the free citizens; and the practice of arms became neceſſary to the latter, to hold their aſcendant over the former, as well as to preſerve the military ſpirit of the republic. At the age of eighteen every free Athenian was enrolled in the army. His duty, for the firſt two years, was confined within the bounds of Attica. At the age of twenty, the youth of all ranks took an oath, in the temple of Minerva, to obey the laws and promote the proſperity of their country; to follow the military ſtandard to every part of the world, when ſummoned by their commanders; to fight to the laſt for their native country; and to regard wheat, barley, vines, and olives, as the only boundary of Attica.

It has been already obſerved, that Athens at this time was divided into three parties, the inhabitants of the mountains, thoſe of the plains, and thoſe on the ſea-coaſt. Soon after the departure of Solon (who had bound

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the people by oath to make no innovation in the commonwealth for ten years) theſe parties, under their leaders, Piſiſtratus, Megacles, and Lycurgus, began to re-appear. Megacles, the chief of the Alemæonidæ, was powerful by his wealth, his alliance by marriage to Cliſthenes, tyrant of Sicyon, and by the renown which he had acquired in the Olympian, Pythian, and Iſthmian games. Piſiſtratus was deſcended of an antient family, that traced their pedigree to Codrus, the laſt of the Athenian kings. To extraordinary abilities and a lofty ſpirit, Piſiſtratus added engaging manners and an inſinuating addreſs: and he had diſplayed his valour and conduct in ſeveral military enterprizes. To effectuate his ambitious deſigns, he employed a ſingular ſtratagem, or dexterouſly availed himſelf of a real incident. Wounded in ſeveral parts of the body, he drove his chariot into the market-place, and ſhewing himſelf all covered with blood, he implored the protection of the people from his enemies, by whom, according to his own repreſentation, he had been attacked as he was going into the country. Moved by his appearance and his ſtory, the people appointed him a guard of fifty men for the ſecurity of his perſon. With the aſſiſtance of theſe

theſe he made himſelf maſter of the citadel, and his opponents were forced to ſubmiſſion, or retired to baniſhment. Henceforth he is diſtinguiſhed by the hiſtorians as the Tyrant of Athens, a term employed by the Greeks to denote the citizen of a republic who had acquired ſovereignty over his fellow-citizens. CHAP. XIV.

PISISTRATUS made no changes in the conſtitution of Solon. Gentle in the exerciſe of ſovereignty, he maintained the regular courſe of law and juſtice, not only by his authority but by his example. When he heard that he was accuſed in the Areopagus, he appeared in perſon to anſwer the accuſation. The reputation of his wiſdom added his name to the ſages of Greece. He was the firſt that inſtituted a public library; he introduced the Iliad of Homer to the knowledge of his countrymen; adorned the city with fine edifices and temples, and poliſhed the manners of the Athenians. "Take away only his ambition," ſaid Solon, "and he is the beſt citizen of Athens."

FROM comparing the antient hiſtorians, it is probable that his ſons ſhared the kingdom between them; though Hipparchus, as the elder, enjoyed the chief authority. His character is tranſmitted to us by Plato as one of the moſt

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moſt perfect in hiſtory, and the period of his adminiſtration is compared to the golden age. He was a patron of learning and learned men. He introduced the poems of Homer more generally to the knowledge of his countrymen, by commanding them to be ſung at the Panathenean feſtival. He kept the poet Simonides in his court, and ſent a galley to bring Anacreon to Athens. To diſpel the ignorance and barbarity of an age, when books and literature were confined to a few, he erected marble pillars, engraved with moral verſes, in the city and in the country. The progreſs of art diſplayed itſelf in the riſing temples of Athens, and the firſt fruits of Attic genius and taſte began to appear. The public revenues were at the ſame time improved, and the adminiſtration of the commonwealth happily conducted at home and abroad. According to the remarkable expreſſion of Thucydides, "the tyrants Hippias and Hipparchus ſingularly cultivated wiſdom and virtue."

HISTORIANS, who lived neareſt the period of theſe events, differ concerning the cauſes and the circumſtances of the conſpiracy againſt Hipparchus: but all agree that it was private revenge, and not any political motive, that armed the hands of Harmodius and Ariſtogi-

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ton againſt the life of the tyrants. Their hoſtile intention ſeems only to have been imparted to a choſen number of their friends. They fixed the day of execution on the feaſt of Panathenea, when all the citizens wore arms. The ſuſpicion of being betrayed ſaved Hippias from their rage, but Hipparchus was aſſaſſinated. Harmodius alſo was killed on the ſpot; Ariſtogiton was puniſhed by the multitude *. CHAP. XIV.

FROM this time tyranny began at Athens. Reſentment, uncertainty, ſuſpicion, led Hippias to ſeverities. From that moment he became ſtern and ſanguinary. Many Athenians were put to death. Neceſſity produced a change in his conduct; diſtruſting the affections of his countrymen, he ſought other ſupports of his power, and became odious to the people. Ante Ch. 513.

THE party of the Alcmæonidæ, baniſhed by Piſiſtratus, were not idle in their exile. With the view of expelling Hippias, and recovering Athens, they employed every means of preſerving and extending their influence among the Grecian ſtates. The temple of Delphi was burned to the ground. The Alcmæonidæ un-

* Thucyd. lib. vi. cap. 57.

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dertook to rebuild it at the deſire of the Amphictyons. As they poſſeſſed great wealth, they exceeded their contract in the magnificence of the execution, and in particular faced the frontiſpiece with Parian marble inſtead of ſtone. By theſe means the Amphictyons were gained to their ſide, and the divinity of the place engaged in their protection. The prieſteſs of Delphi, whenever the Lacedemonians came to conſult the oracle, concluded her anſwer, by enjoining them "to deliver Athens from the tyranny of the Piſiſtratidæ." This ſtratagem had the deſired effect. The Lacedemonians, though bound to the family of Piſiſtratus by the ſacred ties of hoſpitality, determined to invade Attica. After one unſucceſsful attempt, they ſent a larger army into the Athenian territories, under their king Cleomenes. Joined by the Alcmæonid party, and increaſed by numbers whom the ſeverities of Hippias had irritated, they laid ſiege to Athens. Hippias, unwilling to expoſe his children to the conſequences of a ſiege, ſent them ſecretly out of the city. They fell into the enemy's hands; unable to ſave their lives by any other means, Hippias agreed to reſign his ſovereignty, and retire into exile. The Athenians having recovered their liberty, decreed

creed extraordinary honours to the memory of the Tyrannicides. The celebration of their achievement by ſongs, made a part of the religious ceremonies at the great feſtival of Panathenea. The cuſtom was introduced even at private entertainments, always to ſing the ſong of Harmodius and Ariſtogiton. Statues of the patriots, made by the greateſt artiſts at the public expence, and of the moſt coſtly materials, were erected in different places of greateſt reſort in the city. It was forbidden, by a particular law, to give their name to ſlaves. Obſequies were periodically performed to their memory, under the direction of the Polemarch archon. Particular honours, privileges, and emoluments, were decreed to their families; and, in terror to all invaders of public liberty in time to come, promiſes were held out by authority, that future ſufferers in the cauſe of freedom ſhould be equally honoured with Harmodius and Ariſtogiton *. CHAP. XIV.

THE calm which Athens enjoyed was of ſhort duration. Cliſthenes, the ſon of Megacles, was now at the head of the Alcmæonidæ, and of courſe the firſt perſon in the commonwealth. But his genius was unequal to the

* Meurſius Piſiſtrat.

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government of a turbulent democracy. The principal Athenians attached themſelves to Iſagoras, who became the head of a new faction. The wealth of Cliſthenes procured him the ſupport of the lower ranks. By their influence in the public aſſembly he made ſeveral alterations in the form of government favourable to his own views, and increaſed the number of tribes to ten, to which he gave new names. To oppoſe his power, which now equalled that of Piſiſtratus, Iſagoras applied to Lacedemon, which at that time held the aſcendant in Greece. Cleomenes, who poſſeſſed greater influence in the government than is uſual to Spartan kings, immediately adopted the intereſts of Iſagoras, and ſending a herald to Athens, pronounced baniſhment on Cliſthenes, and the chiefs of his party. Such was the formidable name of Sparta, that Cliſthenes immediately obeyed the decree. The Spartans, who ſeized every occaſion of extending the authority or the influence of their ſtate, thought this a favourable ſeaſon for changing the Athenian conſtitution into the form of an ariſtocracy. Cleomenes marched to Athens with a ſmall army. At once he baniſhed ſeven hundred families, and was proceeding to diſſolve the council of five hundred,

hundred, and to veſt the power of the commonwealth in a new council of three hundred, all partiſans of Iſagoras; but the ſenate refuſed to ſubmit, and the people ran to arms. Cleomenes and Iſagoras were beſieged in the citadel, where they had taken refuge, and ſurrendered on conditions, that the Lacedemonians might depart in ſafety. Iſagoras accompanied them, but many Athenians of his party were put to death. Cliſthenes and the exiled families immediately returned. Such at that time were the rapid revolutions of Athens *. CHAP. XIV.

THE party who now aſſumed the government of Athens, apprehending the conſequences of a quarrel with Lacedemon, and deſtitute of allies in Greece, from the formidable power of Sparta, ſent ambaſſadors to Sardis, to form an alliance with Artaphernes the Perſian ſatrap. This was the firſt intercourſe between the vaſt empire of Perſia and the European Greeks. The ſatrap received the deputies of a little unknown republic with the inſolence of the lords of the eaſt. Having enquired who they were, and from what part of the world they came; and being informed from Greece, he briefly replied, "That if they would acknowledge ſubjection Ante Ch. 505.

* Herodot. lib. v. cap. 72. Thucyd. lib. i. cap. 126.

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to the Perſians, by giving earth and water to king Darius, they might be received into alliance, otherwiſe they muſt depart." Such was the critical ſituation of their country, that the ambaſſadors conſented to theſe humiliating terms.

THE reſtleſs temper of Cleomenes brooded over his late diſappointment and diſgrace at Athens. On his return to Sparta, he endeavoured to excite a new confederacy againſt the Athenian government. He diſcovered to the Spartan ſenate the colluſion of the Delphian prieſts with the Alcmæonidæ, in regard to the pretended reſponſes of the oracle; and repreſented the injuſtice as well as imprudence of their conduct in expelling Hippias, whom they were bound to protect and defend, by the laws of hoſpitality, and the intereſt of their country. The Spartan government, jealous of the growing power of the Athenians ſince they had recovered their liberty, conſented that Hippias ſhould be invited into Peloponneſus, and wiſhed to reſtore him to the throne of his father. With this view they ſummoned to a congreſs all their allies in Peloponneſus. The deputies of the ſeveral ſtates, having aſſembled in the Spartan forum, Cleomenes explained the intentions of the republic. His eloquence pro-

duced not the intended effect. The Peloponneſians, however jealous of the Athenian greatneſs, were ſtill more jealous of the power of tyrants; and many of them, who had experienced the haughtineſs of Sparta, were not diſſatiſfied with beholding a rival to that republic in the northern diviſion of Greece. The other deputies expreſſed their diſſent by ſilent diſapprobation; but Soſicles, the Corinthian, condemned the meaſure with ſuch force of argument and fervor of eloquence, that Cleomenes deſiſted from the deſign.

HIPPIAS finding his cauſe univerſally abandoned by the Greeks, ſought the protection of Artaphernes, the Perſian governor of Sardis. As Athens had ſet the example of ſoliciting the Perſian protection, it is not ſurpriſing that the dethroned prince ſhould have followed the example. Hippias found the attention and reſpect which his rank and character might ſeem to deſerve. The Athenians, informed of his favourable reception at the court of the ſatrap, ſent ambaſſadors to Sardis, to counteract the intrigues of their baniſhed prince; but Artaphernes had taken his reſolution, and gave for his final anſwer to the ambaſſadors, "That if they conſulted their ſafety, and would avoid the reſentment of Per-

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ſia, they muſt receive Hippias into their city." At the return of the ambaſſadors, univerſal indignation, not without alarm, prevailed in Athens: but the aſſembly finally reſolved to reſiſt all the power of the Perſian empire, rather than admit within their walls the avowed enemy of their liberties.

AT this critical juncture Ariſtagoras arrived at Athens, explained the revolt of the Aſiatic Greeks from the government of Artaphernes, and ſolicited the Athenians to aſſiſt the Ionian confederacy, and defend their own colonies againſt the oppreſſion of the common foe. The Ionians, a Grecian colony, inhabited the ſea-coaſt of Aſia Minor, and had long been tributary to the Perſian empire. In a conteſt of factions at Naxos, one of the Cyclades iſlands, the democratical party prevailing, the principal citizens were expelled, who, taking refuge at Miletus, implored the aſſiſtance of Ariſtagoras, the Perſian governor of that city, to reſtore them to their native country *. From this Ariſtagoras conceived the deſign of reducing Naxos, and the neighbouring iſlands, under the Perſian power. Artapherneſ, governor of Sardis, and brother to Darius, approved of the plan, and joined in com-

* Herodot. lib. v. cap. 28.

mand

mand with Ariſtagoras, Megabetes, a noble Perſian, and his kinſman. The inhabitants of Naxos made a formidable reſiſtance; the commanders quarrelled; the enterprize was abandoned; and Megabetes, attributing the bad ſucceſs of this expedition to the conduct of his rival, had it in his power to ruin him with Artaphernes. In this critical ſituation, Ariſtagoras believing his deſtruction or diſgrace inevitable, meditated a revolt; when a meſſenger unexpectedly arrived from his uncle Hiſtiæus *, exhorting him to that meaſure. Nothing more was wanting to confirm the wavering reſolution of Ariſtagoras. Having ſounded the principal Mileſians, he propoſed the reſtoration of republican government, and immediately reſigned the ſupreme command. The ſtandard of freedom was ſoon ſurrounded by the flower of the Ionian youth; by whoſe aſſiſtance, traverſing the whole coaſt, he proclaimed liberty and independence to all who were worthy to acquire them.

ENGAGED in ſuch a hazardous enterprize, he left nothing unattempted which might contribute to its ſucceſs. He undertook an embaſſy to Greece, with the hope of gaining

* An honourable exile at Sufa.

the

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the parent ſtates to the cauſe of the colonies. He began his negotiations at Sparta, and repreſented to Cleomenes, what a noble occaſion now preſented itſelf to the Spartans of employing their valour in procuring liberty to their countrymen the Ionians. Cleomenes heſitated. Ariſtagoras having explained the diſtance of the journey, was ordered to depart from Sparta before the ſetting of the ſun.

UNGENEROUSLY diſmiſſed from Sparta, Ariſtagoras went to Athens, the mother country of the Ionians. The Athenians, as a maritime ſtate, had always maintained a cloſer connection than the Spartans with their diſtant colonies; and he arrived at that critical period, when the people, full of indignation againſt the Perſians for having recently ſummoned them to reſtore Hippias to the royal dignity, were moved, from affection, as well as reſentment, to liſten to his requeſt. They voted twenty ſhips to aſſiſt the Ionians; and this circumſtance, to uſe the expreſſion of a reſpectable hiſtorian *; "gave fire to thoſe wars, which was never thoroughly quenched but in the ruin of the great Perſian monarchy."

THE adminiſtration of Artaphernes appears

* Sir Walter Raleigh.

to

to have been negligent and feeble. The Athenian ſhips arrived at Miletus, with five added by the Eretrians. The combined fleets ſailed to Epheſus, and the land forces debarking, marched directly to Sardis, the capital of the antient kingdom of Lydia. In the firſt tumult an Ionian ſoldier ſet fire to a houſe; as moſt of the houſes were walled or covered with reed, the flames ſpread rapidly, and the city was laid in aſhes.

When Darius was informed of the burning of Sardis, and that the Athenians had aſſiſted the Ionians in their rebellion, he ſhot an arrow into the air, praying that Heaven might aſſiſt him in puniſhing the inſolence of that republic; and commanded one of his attendants to repeat in his hearing, every day, when he ſat down to table, "Remember the Athenians *."

In the ſixth year from the revolt of Ariſtagoras, the city of Miletus, the centre of the Ionian confederacy, was beſieged and taken by Artaphernes, the Perſian general: all the other cities, both on the ſea-coaſt and in the iſlands, ſoon returned to their duty; and the Aſiatic Greeks, firſt conquered by the Lydians, now

* Herodot. lib. v. cap. 105.

ſubmitted

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ſubmitted for the ſecond time to the Perſian power.

BUT the reſentment of Darius was not gratified; ambition and vengeance equally prompted him to undertake the conqueſt of Greece. With this view he ſent heralds through the Grecian dominions to demand earth and water, as ſymbols of ſubmiſſion and dependence. Dreading the formidable power of the Perſians, many towns on the continent, and moſt of the iſlands, obeyed.

BUT the Athenians and Spartans rejected the demand with indignation; and, from the boldneſs of character natural to republicans, they threw one of the heralds into a well, and another into a deep ditch, telling them to take from thence as much earth and water as they choſe *. More provoked with theſe inſults, Darius accelerated his long-intended project of vengeance upon Greece.

SELDOM does a greater or more intereſting ſpectacle occur in the annals of hiſtory, than the Aſiatic expedition into Europe, and the war between the Greeks and the Perſians. The former conflicts, in which the Grecian ſtates had been engaged, were confined to

* Herodot. lib. vii. cap. 133.

their

their own frontiers, and extended not their conſequences beyond the countries in which they aroſe. But this memorable war reached the extremities, and ſhook the centre of Greece. It recoiled with more deſtructive violence on Perſia; its duration comprehends an illuſtrious period in the hiſtory of both countries; and its extent embraces all the great nations of antiquity, together with the ſcattered communities of Grecian extraction in every part of the world. Nor did the event of this enterprize intereſt theſe nations alone; the fate of future ages was involved in the conteſt. The important queſtion was brought to the deciſion of the ſword, whether Aſia or Europe was to give the law to the world; whether the page of hiſtory, and the progreſs of civilization among the nations, were to proceed from the dominions of deſpotiſm, or the regions of freedom and ſcience. Previous to a detail of the events in this war, it is requiſite to take a view of the ſituation, character, and force of the contending nations.

THE Perſian empire was at this time more extenſive than it had been under Cyrus the Great. Beſide the immenſe provinces of the Greater Aſia, the vaſt continent of the Lower Aſia ſubmitted to the ſceptre of Darius; the

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antient kingdom of Lydia was ſubdued; Arabia was tributary; Thrace and Macedonia bended to the yoke; and Egypt was a province in the empire of the great king. The power of theſe extenſive provinces was abſolute and ſupreme; the millions of Aſia were ever ready to march at his command; and the wealth of antient kingdoms that had been conquered were laid up in the treaſury. The revenue of the empire under Darius amounted to fourteen thouſand five hundred and ſixty Eubæic talents; a ſum which, conſidering the value of money in antient times, exceeded thirty millions at preſent. Beſides this ſtated income, Darius might, on any extraordinary occaſion, demand the money and ſervices of his ſubjects. His predeceſſors were ſatisfied with voluntary contributions and a militia. This prince eſtabliſhed taxes and a ſtanding army. The number of his troops equalled the reſources of his treaſury; and both correſponded to the extent of his dominions, which comprehended the greateſt and moſt populous nations of the earth.

GREECE, in its utmoſt extent, comprehended only three hundred and eighty miles in length, and three hundred and ten in breadth. Sparta and Athens were the cities that ſtood foremoſt

foremoſt on this occaſion, and bore the chief burthen of the war. Laconia ſtretched a hundred miles in length, and fifty in breadth. The freemen amounted to thirty-nine thouſand. The country was fertile; but the laws of Lycurgus prevented them from the acquiſition of wealth. This circumſtance, however, like the vow of poverty among the religious orders in the church of Rome, ſuggeſted and nouriſhed an unbounded ambition. From the conqueſt of Meſſene to the cloſe of the Perſian wars, they had been at the head of Grecian affairs. Long allied with Corinth, the richeſt republic of Greece, and, as the more powerful ſtate, taking the lead in the confederacy, they commanded Peloponneſus, and watched every opportunity to increaſe their influence and extend their power. Whenever the Grecian ſtates were engaged in wars with one another, or in diſſenſions within themſelves, the Lacedemonians interfered as mediators, and held the balance between contending parties. It was the character of the Spartan government to be cautious in enterprize, but unſhaken in principle; firm in reſolution, and immovable by danger. Independence on any foreign ſtate was one great object of its ſingular inſtitutions; and a peo-

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ple who aſpired to dominion over others, never bowed to a ſuperior power. Notwithſtanding the late hoſtility of Sparta to Athens, circumſtances concurred at this time to conciliate their cordiality, and promote their union. The antient animoſity between Lacedemon and Argos had been revived and heightened by recent tranſactions. Cleomenes, king of Sparta, having invaded Argolis, maſſacred a large body of Argians who had ſurrendered themſelves on promiſes of ſafety. Thebes, formerly the principal ally of Sparta beyond Peloponneſus, had been led by its prevailing faction to ſubmit to the demands of Perſia. Theſe circumſtances determined Sparta to a cordial union with Athens, in defending the liberties of Greece againſt all the force of the Perſian empire.

THE Athenians had been lately emancipated from the tyranny of the Piſiſtradæ. On the re-eſtabliſhment of popular government, an enthuſiaſm for liberty was kindled, and they became a great people. When under the controul of their kings, ſays Herodotus, the Athenians were of little account in Greece; but immediately on the ſubverſion of the tyranny they roſe to diſtinction, and became more illuſtrious than that people which had hitherto

hitherto held them in ſuch little eſtimation. Hence, after the expulſion of Hippias, the Athenians ſeem rather inſpired than taught, and raiſed to inſtantaneous rather than progreſſive elevation. The outſet of free governments is ever marked with peculiar force and vigour. As the limbs newly unſhackled, ſo the mind, liberated from the dominion of tyranny, ſprings with elaſticity and ardour to every object of purſuit; the people regard their new compact with a ſacred reverence, and the flame of patriotiſm catches and pervades the whole community. In the firſt years of their freedom, the Athenians acquired an aſcendant in Greece, which was fatal to their enemies, and at laſt dangerous to themſelves. They chaſtiſed the inſolence of the iſlanders of Eubœa and Egina, who contended with them in naval power; and humbled the pride of Thebes, which had rivalled them in military glory. When the Perſian monarch meditated the deſtruction of Greece, the Athenians ſaw and prepared for the impending ſtorm. A ſmall corner of Europe oppoſed itſelf to the whole force of Aſia. What could the thouſands of Greece perform againſt the millions of Perſia? They could die; and with ſuch a ſpirit perhaps might gain the victory.

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THE experience of ages demonſtrates, that kingdoms are not powerful beyond a certain extent of territory. The enormous and unwieldy dimenſions of an overgrown empire, form not ſtrength, but extended weakneſs. Nature hath preſcribed limits to the ambition of nations as well as of individuals. The kingdom of Parthia, circumſcribed within moderate bounds, was more powerful than any of the eaſtern empires. Unleſs a communication is kept up between the capital, or ſeat of government, and the frontier provinces, authority cannot be maintained. In the time of foreign war, too, the ſubjected kingdoms are apt to revolt, and the diſtant provinces to rebel. No bond can connect ſuch diſcontiguous parts; no ſpirit can animate ſuch diſcordant bodies. From theſe general, rather than any particular cauſes, the empires of the eaſt have generally fallen with the ſame facility with which they aroſe.

WHEN Darius meditated the conqueſt of Greece, the Perſians were no longer the ſame people who had fought and conquered under Cyrus the Great. They had aſſumed the manners and imitated the vices of the nations whom they ſubdued. The name of a conqueſing nation only remained with them:

them: and the Perſian armies were in effect compoſed of Medes, Aſſyrians, Babylonians, and Egyptians; mercenary and corrupted bodies of men, who had no glory to gain, and no character to loſe.

GREECE, for ever in a ferment, and torn with faction in the time of peace, joined in the cloſeſt union againſt a common enemy. In the common cauſe of liberty, rival ſtates forgot their animoſities; they deliberated with unanimity, and acted with vigour. While the one nation was in its decline, the other was advancing to maturity.

IN an empire formed like Perſia from the ruin of provinces, the people, ſubjected by fear and ruled with oppreſſion, contract a habit of ſlavery. Accuſtomed to vexations, they learn to ſuffer them like neceſſary evils. They have no intereſt in common with their lord; they have no attachment to country, and never feel the ſpirit of freemen: without ambition or emulation, they are dead members of a vaſt and ill-organized body. We cannot be ſurpriſed then to find generals without conduct, and armies without courage or diſcipline. Virtues and talents were neither ſought nor regarded; merit was kept at a diſtance from the throne. Intrigue diſpoſed

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of places; and the art of amuſing or pleaſing was the title to royal favour. The rank of a general was often beſtowed to remove a courtier who was formidable to his rivals.

THE inſtitutions of Lycurgus and Solon were then in their vigour at Sparta and Athens. The cities, under the protection of law, enjoyed their liberty and their property. To the courage, which they derived from nature, and the force of inſtitution, the Greeks added a knowledge of the military art. Their warlike achievements had not been ſo brilliant as in after-periods; but they had been more inſtructive than the ſplendid victories of the Medes and the Perſians. In republics of ſmall extent, and frequently engaged in war with each other, military merit becomes the chief object of ſtudy, and leads to conſequence and renown. Their daily practice in the gymnaſtic had given them agility of limbs, and an unuſual degree of vigour both to mind and body; their frequent exerciſe in the field of battle had inured them to hardſhip, fatigue, and the reſtraints of diſcipline; and an acknowledged pre-eminence among their neighbours had inſpired them with a martial enthuſiaſm, which was doubly animated in defence of their freedom and their country.

Merit alone raiſed to employments in the ſtate. The talent of commanding was the ſole title to command. Athens proſcribed great men becauſe they were dangerous to her conſtitution, but ſhe reſpected them ſtill. Her fear compelled her to baniſh them; but her eſteem re-produced them. When ſhe excluded one hero from her walls, ſhe opened her gates to another.

SUCH were the different ſituations of Perſia and of Greece. Numbers, wealth, and extent of dominion, on the one ſide: diſciplined valour, the love of country, and perſevering ſpirit, on the other.

IN the ſecond ſpring after the reduction of Miletus, Mardonius, a Perſian nobleman of the firſt rank, and ſon-in-law to Darius, was ſent with a powerful fleet, and a numerous army, to take vengeance on Eretria and Athens for the burning of Sardis. The youthful ambition of Mardonius prompted him to extraordinary things. Arriving in Ionia, he depoſed all the tyrants, and eſtabliſhed democratical government in every Grecian city. Collecting from the Ionians and Æolians a conſiderable addition to his forces both by ſea and land, he proceeded to the Helleſpont, and paſſed into Europe. All, as far as Macedonia, was al-

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ready ſubject to Perſia; and that kingdom, which had formerly bought its peace by the humiliating ceremony of delivering earth and water, was now compelled to pay tribute. But having ſteered ſouthward from Thaſus, the whole armament was overtaken and almoſt deſtroyed by a violent ſtorm, while attempting to double the promontory of Mount Athos: three hundred veſſels were daſhed againſt the rocks, twenty thouſand men periſhed in the waves *. His army alſo, in paſſing through Thrace, was attacked in the camp during the night, and Mardonius himſelf wounded. Theſe diſaſters totally defeated the deſign of the expedition; and Mardonius having recovered the ſhattered remains of the fleet and army, returned to the court of Perſia, where, by flattering the pride, he averted the reſentment of Darius.

He was recalled however from the command of Leſſer Aſia, and two generals were appointed in his room: Artaphernes, ſon of the late ſatrap of that name, and Datis a Median nobleman, more diſtinguiſhed by his age and experience. Theſe generals, leading a land force from the interior provinces, met

* Herodot. lib. vi. cap. 44.

the

the fleet on the coaſt of Cilicia. This armament the Perſian generals were ordered to employ in extending their conqueſts on the ſide of Europe, and particularly in chaſtiſing the inſolence of the Eretrians and Athenians, the only nations which had conſpired with the revolt of the Ionians, and aſſiſted in the deſtruction of Sardis. Having ſubdued Naxos, and the neighbouring iſlands in the Egean, the ſtorm now approached Eretria. During ſix days the Perſian aſſaults were vigorouſly oppoſed. On the ſeventh the place was betrayed by two of the principal citizens. The temples were plundered and burnt; and the inhabitants condemned to ſlavery.

THE Perſian army now croſſed into Attica, having Hippias, the baniſhed king of Athens, for their counſellor and conductor.

HAVING encamped at Marathon, they ſent to inform Athens of the puniſhment inflicted on the Eretrians.

IN this alarming ſituation of Greece, no meaſures had been concerted for general ſecurity. The Aſian Greeks had been firſt ſubdued. The Perſian dominion then extended itſelf into Europe, as far as the confines of Theſſaly. All the iſlands had now fallen. The Perſian army paſſed the narrow channel

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which ſeparates them; and ſtill no confederacy for common defence ſeems to have been propoſed. After the taking of Eretria, the Athenians applied for aſſiſtance to the Lacedemonians, who granted them two thouſand men; but antient ſuperſtition, which prevailed at Sparta, prevented theſe forces from beginning to march till after the full-moon, by which means they did not arrive at Athens till four days after the battle of Marathon. The terror of the Perſian name reſtrained the other ſtates from furniſhing the expected aid. Platea alone ſent a thouſand men to join the Athenian army. In this extremity the Athenians aſſembled all their forces, and armed even their ſlaves.

FORTUNATELY at this time there was in Athens a man qualified, both by genius and experience, to take the lead on ſuch a momentous occaſion; Miltiades, the expelled chief of Cherſoneſus. When the ten generals who commanded the army, each in his turn for a day, deliberated whether they ſhould venture to meet the enemy in the field, or prepare for a ſiege; and the opinions being equally divided, the Polemarch archon, according to antient cuſtom, was called to give the caſting vote. The ſpeech of Miltiades

on

on that occaſion, recorded by Herodotus *, explains the politics and temper of the times, and accounts for the conduct of that able commander, who, contrary to the common principles of defenſive war, was for riſking at once a deciſive engagement with an enemy ſo ſuperior in numbers. "It depends on you," ſaid Miltiades to the Polemarch Callimachus, "either to reduce Athens to ſlavery, or, by eſtabliſhing her freedom, to leave an eternal memory of yourſelf among men, more glorious than even Harmodius and Ariſtogiton have acquired; for never, ſince the Athenians were a people, have they been menaced with danger like the preſent. If, yielding to the Perſians, they are delivered into the power of Hippias, let imagination figure what their calamities will be; but if they conquer, Athens will become the firſt city of Greece. Should they then, by your deciſion, be debarred from preſently engaging the enemy, I well know that faction will divide the minds of our citizens, and a party among them will not ſcruple to make terms with the Perſians to the deſtruction of the reſt: but if we engage before any corrupt diſpoſition prevails, the gods only diſpenſing equal favour, we are able to conquer."

* Lib. vi. cap. 109.

THE

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THE Perſians had, for a century paſt, been accuſtomed to almoſt uninterrupted ſucceſs. They had often engaged and defeated the Greeks of Aſia and of Cyprus. The army, under Datis and Artaphernes, advanced therefore towards Athens with confidence of ſucceſs, and hopes of victory. Herodotus does not mention their numbers. According to Cornelius Nepos they amounted to a hundred thouſand foot, and ten thouſand horſe. Neither are the numbers of the Athenian army mentioned by Herodotus, the hiſtorian who lived neareſt the time of theſe events. It is probable that they amounted to twenty thouſand free men, and an equal number of armed ſlaves *.

BUT it was to the genius of Miltiades, more than to her own ſtrength, that Athens was indebted for her preſervation. In critical emergencies men are arranged according to their abilities; and conſpicuous merit is elevated to the higheſt ſtation. Ariſtides, one of the ten generals, reſigned his day of command to the approved valour and experience of Miltiades; the reſt followed the illuſtrious example, and ſacrificed the dictates of private

* Vide the learned and ingenious Mr. Mitford's Hiſt. Greece, p. 346.

ambition

ambition to the intereſt and glory of their country. The extreme inconveniences attending a divided authority were thus obviated; and the commander in chief enjoyed an opportunity of exerting all his efforts in the ſervice of the ſtate. Miltiades to his other advantages joined that of having ſerved with the Perſians. He was therefore well acquainted with the arrangement of their armies, the temper of their troops, the ordinary ſyſtem of their generals, and he knew how to profit by his knowledge. The Greeks, whoſe chief ſtrength conſiſted in their heavy armed foot, uſually began an engagement with a few diſcharges of miſſile weapons, and then preſently came to cloſe fight with their long ſpears. The Perſians made more uſe of the bow, and leſs of the ſpear; and depended much on their cavalry, in which the Greeks (the Theſſalians excepted) from the nature of their country, were extremely deficient. The defenſive armour of the Perſian infantry was alſo inferior to the Grecian. "The Perſians," ſays Herodotus *, "go to battle carrying bows and ſhort ſpears, and wearing

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* Lib. 7. cap. 49.

ſtockings

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ſtockings and turbans; the Greeks carried long ſpears and ſwords, and wore greaves and helmets." The braveſt of the Perſian troops fought on horſeback; but in all ages the long Grecian ſpear has proved the ſureſt defence againſt the attack of cavalry, inſomuch that even the Romans, in fighting againſt the Numidian horſemen, preferred the ſtrength of the phalanx to the activity of the legion. The various nations which compoſed the Perſian army, though not deſtitute of valour, or ignorant of military diſcipline, compared with the regularity of the Greek battalions, may be regarded as a promiſcuous crowd, armed in each diviſion with the peculiar weapons of their reſpective countries, and incapable of being united into any uniform ſyſtem of military arrangement. The Greeks were not only ſuperior to the Perſians in their armour and military diſcipline; they poſſeſſed that enthuſiaſm and emulation which animate the boſoms of thoſe who have armed in the cauſe of liberty, and are prepared not only to fight, but to die for their country.

THE Perſian generals, guided by Hippias, had landed their troops on the eaſtern coaſt of Attica, and encamped in the narrow plain

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of Marathon. Miltiades poſted his army on the declivity of the hill above. His rear was defended by the mountain, which, verging round to meet the ſea, likewiſe covered his right; his left was flanked by the marſh of Marathon. Inſpecting the ground and the enemy, Miltiades determined to attack. The narrow plain was favourable to that mode of engagement, in which the Greeks excelled, and for which their arms were peculiarly adapted. To form a line equal to that of the enemy, Miltiades extended his front by weakening his centre. By order of their general, the Athenian army ruſhed down the hill with fury, and advanced to the attack, running the whole way. This ſingular onſet was derided by the Perſians, and imputed to ignorance of military diſcipline; but the effect of the ſhock proved the wiſdom with which it had been concerted. The Perſian cavalry, formidable in champaign countries by their rapid evolutions, were encumbered in this confined plain by their own infantry, and prevented from engaging. The braveſt of the Perſian troops, poſted in the centre, ſtood the impetuoſity of the attack, broke the weak part of the Athenian line, and purſued it to a diſtance.

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tance. After a fierce conflict, the Athenians routed and put to flight the two wings of the Perſian army; then joining their divided forces, they attacked the conquering centre of the barbarians returning weary from purſuit, and gave it a complete overthrow. The Perſians fled to their ſhips. Seven of their gallies were taken. Five Athenian generals, and about two hundred citizens, periſhed in the engagement. The Perſians loſt ſix thouſand of their braveſt troops. Hippias, the baniſhed king of Athens, was ſlain. After the battle, a ſoldier was ſent from the field to announce the victory at Athens. Exhauſted with fatigue and bleeding from his wounds, he had only time to cry out, "Rejoice, we are conquerors!" and immediately expired *.

AFTER the defeat at Marathon, the Perſian commander doubled the cape of Sunium, with the hopes of ſurpriſing the harbour of Athens, and taking the city by aſſault. Aware of the enemy's intention, Miltiades made a rapid march; and when the Perſians arrived off the port Phalerus, they ſaw an Athenian army encamped on the hill above. The Perſian

* Herod. lib. vi. cap. 1, 12, 13, &c.

fleet then ſailed to the coaſt of Aſia, carrying with them their Eretrian priſoners, who were conducted to Darius at Suſa. The great king ordered them immediately to be releaſed from their chains, and aſſigned them for their habitation a fertile diſtrict in the province of Ciſſia, about twenty-four miles from his capital. There the colony remained in the time of Herodotus, preſerving their Grecian language and manners; and, after a revolution of ſix hundred years, were diſtinguiſhed from the ſurrounding nations by certain marks of European extraction *.

When the day of the full-moon was over, the Lacedæmonians began their march with two thouſand men; and, having travelled a hundred and fifty miles in the ſpace of three days, arrived in Attica. The battle was fought the preceding day; however, they went forward to Marathon, and having gazed in ſilence on the field, congratulated the Athenians on their ſucceſs, and returned to their own country.

Monuments were raiſed to the memory of thoſe who had fallen in the field; and their

* Philoſtrat. vit. Apollon.

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names, and the tribes to which they belonged, were recorded in marble. The valour of Miltiades too was rewarded. The battle of Marathon was painted; amid a group of figures, the perſon of Miltiades drew the eye in the attitude of giving orders at the head of the Athenian army. Athens produced great men, becauſe ſhe knew how to reward them.

THE battle of Marathon has often deſervedly filled the page of the hiſtorian. Never had ſo ſmall a body of forces overcome ſo great an hoſt. Their ſplendid achievements and extraordinary ſucceſs inſpired the Greeks with an enthuſiaſm of valour; and are conſidered by Plato as the ſource and original cauſe of their future conqueſts and victories. The terror of the Perſian power, hitherto ſo formidable, was diſſipated. The Greeks were taught, from ſucceſs, to know their own ſtrength, and to tremble no more at the name of an enemy whom they had conquered. On all following occaſions of importance, the orators recalled the field of Marathon to the remembrance of their countrymen, and held up Miltiades and his victorious troops to view, in order to inſpire them with a paſſion for glory, and the emulation of their anceſtors.

DELIVERED

DELIVERED from impending deſtruction by the victory at Marathon, the Athenians began to extend their views, and to meditate conqueſt. The iſlands in the Egean had ſubmitted to the demands of Darius, and aided the cauſe of the Perſians. Miltiades was ſent with ſeventy ſhips to exact fines from them for their delinquency, and reduce them under the authority of the Athenian government. Paros reſiſted, and its principal town was beſieged. On a falſe report of the arrival of the Perſian fleet, Miltiades raiſed the ſiege, in which he had been dangerouſly wounded, and returned with his fleet to Athens, where an unſucceſsful commander never found a welcome reception.

FROM the expulſion of Hippias, the Alcmæonidæ had governed Athens. The glory of Miltiades, by diminiſhing their conſequence, excited their envy and oppoſition. He was accuſed by Xantippus, ſon-in-law of Megacles, the chief of the Alcmæonid party, of having raiſed the ſiege of Paros from the influence of a Perſian bribe. The hour of danger was paſt; and the ſervices of Miltiades were no longer neceſſary to the ſafety of the commonwealth. Influenced by the ruling party, Athens forgot her deliverer.

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He was condemned in a fine of fifty talents *, which he was unable to diſcharge. His wounds began to feſter; and the hero of Marathon died in priſon.

* About nine thouſand four hundred pounds ſterling.

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